

Message Text

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S E C R E T GENEVA 5159

EXDIS USSALTTWO

EO 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: AMB EARLE'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 24, 1977 (SALT TWO 1249)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMB EARLE
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JUNE 24, 1977:

MR. MINISTER:

I. AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF JUNE 14, THE UNITED STATES
PRESENTED ITS VIEW THAT THERE EXISTS A TYPE OF SOVIET
LAUNCHER WHICH IS APPARENTLY CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH
THE SS-20 IRBM AND THE SS-16 ICBM, AND THAT UNDER THE
PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, ALL LAUNCHERS OF THAT TYPE
SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION. AT
THE SAME TIME, THE US INDICATED A WILLINGNESS
TO CONSIDER ANY VERIFIABLE ARRANGMENTS WHICH COULD BE
UNDERTAKEN TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO BE ASSURED
THAT SUCH LAUNCHERS ARE NOT CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING AN ICBM.

ON JUNE 21, THE SOVIET DELEGATION REJECTED THE UNITED
STATES VIEW, ASSERTING THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT IS NOT
TO LIMIT LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES OF LESS THAN INTERCONTINENTAL
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RANGE, AND THAT, SINCE IT IS "WELL KNOWN" THAT THE LAUNCHER
REFERRED TO DOES NOT HAVE THE TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES TO
LAUNCH AN ICBM, THE LAUNCHER COULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO THE
LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT.

II. MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS
CAREFULLY REVIEWED YOUR STATEMENT OF JUNE 21 AND

DOES NOT FIND IT HELPFUL IN BRINGING THE SIDES CLOSER TO A SOLUTION OF THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. IN THAT STATEMENT, THE SOVIET DELEGATION CHARGED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS SEEKING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. THIS IS NOT SO. CONTRARY TO THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOVIET STATEMENT, THE UNITED STATES IS IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT THAT ONLY STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE. THE ISSUE BEFORE US IS NOT WHETHER OTHER ARMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE. RATHER, THE ISSUE IS A FACTUAL ONE--WHETHER OR NOT A PARTICULAR TYPE OF LAUNCHER IS CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING AN ICBM AND THEREBY IS A STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARM WHICH SHOULD BE LIMITED.

ACCORDINGLY, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS NOT ADDRESSED THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM. ONE JUNE 21, THE SOVIET DELEGATION SAID THAT IT IS "WELL KNOWN" THAT THE LAUNCHERS REFERRED TO AVE BEEN DEVELOPED AND TESTED SPECIALLY FOR INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES AND, DUE TO THEIR "TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES," THEY CANNOT BE USED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. THIS ISSUE OF TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES IS THE VERY QUESTION THE UNITED STATES HAS RAISED. THE INABILITY OF THIS PARTICULAR TYPE OF LAUNCHER TO LAUNCH AN ICBM, AS ASSERTED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION, IS NOT "WELL KNOWN" TO THE UNITED STATES. IN FACT, AND TO THE CONTRARY, THE APPARENT TECHNICAL
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CAPABILITIES OF THE LAUNCHER UNDER DISCUSSION ARE SUCH THAT IT APPEARS TO US TO BE DUAL CAPABLE. ARMS MUST BE INCLUDED OR EXCLUDED FROM THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ACTUAL CAPABILITIES--NOT BY UNILATERAL DESIGNATION OF THEIR PURPOSE.

III. IF A LAUNCHER IS CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING ICBMS AS WELL AS MISSILES OF LESS THAN INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE, THEN ALL SUCH LAUNCHERS SHOULD COUNT IN THE 2400 AGGREGATE. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THE LAUNCHERS OF THE TYPE UNDER DISCUSSION TO BE CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH THE SS-20 IRBM AND THE SS-16 ICBM; THEREOFRE, THESE LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE. AT THE SAME TIME, I REPEAT THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO CONSIDER ANY VERIFIABLE ARRANGMENTS WHICH THE SVVIET SIDE MIGHT PROPOSE TO UNDERTAKE WHICH WOULD ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO BE ASSURED THAT LAUNCHERS OF THE TYPE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SS-20 IRBM CANNOT ALSO BE USED TO LAUNCH ICBMS.

IV. MR. MINISTER, THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERS THIS TO BE A PROBLEM WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED. EARLE

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